

CHAPTER I.

KÜRDISH WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND
OCCUPATIONS.

THE Kûrds are to be found scattered all over the 101
Eastern Highlands of Asia Minor, from the Taurus
to the Caucasus, as well as in Kûrdistan proper, where
the population is equally mixed. Under the name of
Kûrd, however, two distinct races are included, who
form as great a contrast to each other in physiog-
nomy as in character and manner of life. The one 181
race is nomad, warlike, and full of vivacity, the other 142
is agricultural, pacific, and not remarkable for intelli-
gence.¹ The features of the peasantry are much
softer and less pronounced than those of the tribes-
men, who have long and rather aquiline noses, pro-
minent foreheads, keen, deep set eyes, generally black,
but sometimes grey, or even blue, small mouths, and
pointed chins. Their step is firm, their bearing
proud and dignified, and at the first glance one sees
that they are the lords of the country.

The Kûrds generally are strong, healthy, well-181
built people, and in spite of the inequalities of 142
climate of the country they inhabit, live to a good 164
old age. The children are clear-skinned, rosy-

¹ The Turkish proverb, "Stupid as a Kûrd," applies only to the peasants
of this nation.

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cheeked, hardy, lithe and active little creatures, and the young women—in the Taurus especially—are said to be models of physical beauty. Mr. Millingen gives the following glowing description of one among the many handsome girls he saw during his residence among these freebooting highlanders: "Her complexion gave me an idea of what must have been the bloom of the forbidden apple of the terrestrial Paradise. Her eyes, of a dark chestnut, shone like brilliants through the veil of her thick, long eyelashes, while nose and mouth were perfect in their delicacy of shape. Though the garments she wore were not of a superior sort, yet through their folds her graceful form could be detected. But what above all contributed to make her really charming was the calm, simple, and, so to say, infantine air which distinguished her countenance and the whole of her demeanour."¹

- 173 Some Kûrdish families in Boktan and Hakkari claim descent from the Ommeyyide Khalifs, and some travellers are of opinion that the tribe of the Rowadi, to which Saladin belonged, may possibly be the same as the modern Revendi, or Rewendi. The chiefs of the Bebbeh clan confidently affirm that they have in their veins English blood from an ancestress called Keighan, the legend concerning whom will be found in a subsequent chapter.² Less mythical, perhaps, is the story of the company belonging to the Second Crusade (1147-49), who wandered in a north-easterly direction from Syria, and not being

¹ *Wild Life among the Kûrds*,

² See p. 174.

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Fig. 1. Village aristocracy. Married women fetching wine leaves. Sorhan.

and chins ...¹⁸. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"¹⁹. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"²⁰, in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas.

Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bleibtreu, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und genießen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten andern morgenländischen Völkern"²¹. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947: "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égal de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"²². Soane maintains that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds²³, that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the bazaar"²⁴. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a manlier treatment ... than is seen among Musulman races"²⁵. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chiefs

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562 keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ...²⁶. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters"²⁷. In regard to marriage and the polygyny sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane²⁸ declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:²⁹ "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...". It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families³⁰. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja³¹ of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begmada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *q'asim masha* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Hujain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.

Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).



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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Baftha. (See p. 45).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs¹², and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaila, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *malik* (king) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

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175 responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-
 562 in-law, Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was de-
 565 monstrated shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on
 account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for
 life³³, which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fatima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds³⁴. After her hus-
 [222] band's death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants
 of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

562 The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish
 714 woman is said to possess a far fiercer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not
 veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogamy prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as
 a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 1. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topgawa.



Woman's activities in the home

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appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *sab*, of the thickness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather²¹. The dough, *hawê*, is prepared from wheat flour, *dêd*, sifted through a round sieve, water, *dê*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xêr-dêd*,²² of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2263) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gawek*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topuzawa.

Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topuzawa.


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HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

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Village aristocracy. In Topuzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mâst* is made daily in the home. Butter is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cockhouse or on a beam

Fig. 18. Woman crouching before the fire, Topuzawa.



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Fig. 42. Village primary school women's dress, front and back, Togo.

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The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black head veil and the black skirt, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village primary school within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban center, visiting, say, Sokoto or places further down the Katsina and Niger.

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The ordinary peasant environment, then, also does contain of the specially Katsina elements, but in a lesser-kind of outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried women and the father and in some cases for the married. On the provincial town of Sokoto as urban, but the whole still very connected with other cities (E. 2012) and from it a neck and shoulder veil. The difference between the dress of the village primary school and the plain peasant women did not lie in the form or material of the garment but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of broad cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloth in villages like Togo and Sokoto are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Sokoto is variegated, and in Africa Russian black, grey, red, and dark colours. Thus the urban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver disc. During work at Togo the town

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem. This involves gathering information about the situation and understanding the needs of the stakeholders involved. Once the problem is clearly defined, the next step is to develop a plan of action. This plan should outline the goals of the project, the tasks that need to be completed, and the resources that will be required. The third step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the plan into action and monitoring progress. Finally, the fourth step is to evaluate the results. This involves assessing the outcomes of the project and determining whether the goals have been achieved.

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Dimensions of male dress

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Fig. 16. Left: male dress of Scandinavian type. Right: male dress of Balkan type.

Fig. 17. Male dress of Balkan type. The broad-shaped cuffs of the shirt are inserted around the arms.

The dimensions of male dress. Finally we had an opportunity to study the male dress in Southern Scandinavia presents a less complicated picture than western's. However, male dress also contains special Swedish and foreign elements. The greatest Swedish male dress is a tunic cutaway. This type can be determined, easily connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the male dress region, the other of the female or mixed Scandinavian.

Swedish element. The tunic (Fig. 18) is made of plain, white cotton material to cut a short-sleeved jacket (Fig. 19). It is long and a size of 1.50 m. Open in the front, it is fixed with a few buttons. The shirt's length over the shoulder is 0.67 m. The sleeve, 0.30 m. long and 0.10 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at some angle. These sleeve variations in broad-shaped cuffs, the sleeve button is typical male dress. The cuffs joining the arm to 0.10 m. and long sleeve 0.10 m. The long garment usually the arm to the sleeve of a woman's shirt. Just as with the woman's dress, these broad-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the garment more above the shirt, and inserted around

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Woman, in old Kurdish costume.



Yusef M. M. M.



Yusef M. M. M.

[opposite p. 12 -- 1951]

159 habitat. Voices developed to shout from peak to peak across intervening valleys acquire inflections to accentuate or suppress the echo of certain sounds, which can never be imitated by the plainsman.

162 There are about half a million Kurds in Iraq, a figure which represents only a fraction of the race; Turkey holds some three million and Iran at least one million. In the last-named country a reliable estimate is difficult to obtain owing to the widely separated areas reached by wandering tribes. Apart from those in the north-west, the mountainous country on the western border is peopled by Kurds as far south as Luristan. The north-eastern province of Khuzestan also holds some Kurdish tribes; while certain tribes in Baluchistan may also be of Kurdish origin.

169 From the time when groups of Aryan-speaking families settled in secluded
186 valleys until the present century, Kurdish tribes were cut off from each other and from the outside world by their mountains and by the fighting spirit of their primordial ancestors, who each regarded his own particular valley as his home, and any newcomer as an enemy who must be killed before he himself was overwhelmed. When man began to keep flocks and herds for domestic uses, the tribal exclusiveness was exaggerated by the need to prevent outsiders from sharing the limited areas of good grazing available among the rocky hills.

169 Intermarriage within the tribe has enhanced physical similarities to such an extent that in many cases it is possible to distinguish a man's origin by his face as well as by the way he wears his headgear and his dialect. But there is no sign of this close blood-relationship having caused physical degeneration. The Kurd has been truly described as having the highest physical development of any race in the Middle East.

167 I have on occasion been out chasing with a Kurdish chief on the wrong side of seventy years of age, who rode a horse and

[p 367 (A)]

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A Kurdish agha, or chieftain, from Kurdistan. Short and stocky, he has the gait of a man who was able to ride before he could walk.

[A 587 (C)]

frequency of the index with the Circassians coincides with the additional group in the Kurdish curves and makes it probable that the present Kurds contain a large admixture of this or of an other related subbrachycephalic Caucasian race. This may explain the controversies in literature concerning the I. br. index of the Kurds, whose original stock — as was rightly pointed out by CHANTRE and by VON LUSCHAN — has to be considered as a mesocephalic race. They usually have dark hair and brown eyes.

The Circassians (or Tcherkesses), however, belonging to the subbrachycephalic Caucasian race, frequently have fair hair and blue eyes, two features also more often found with my subbrachycephalic "Kurds".

Approaching with these data the anthropology of Persia, I may start by mentioning that the blood index of the Persians examined by PARK was 1.17. These Persians probably came for the greater part from North Persia. Similarly the majority of the 165 Persians whose indices I measured came from a region that lies north of the 34th parallel, i.e. north of Isphahan.

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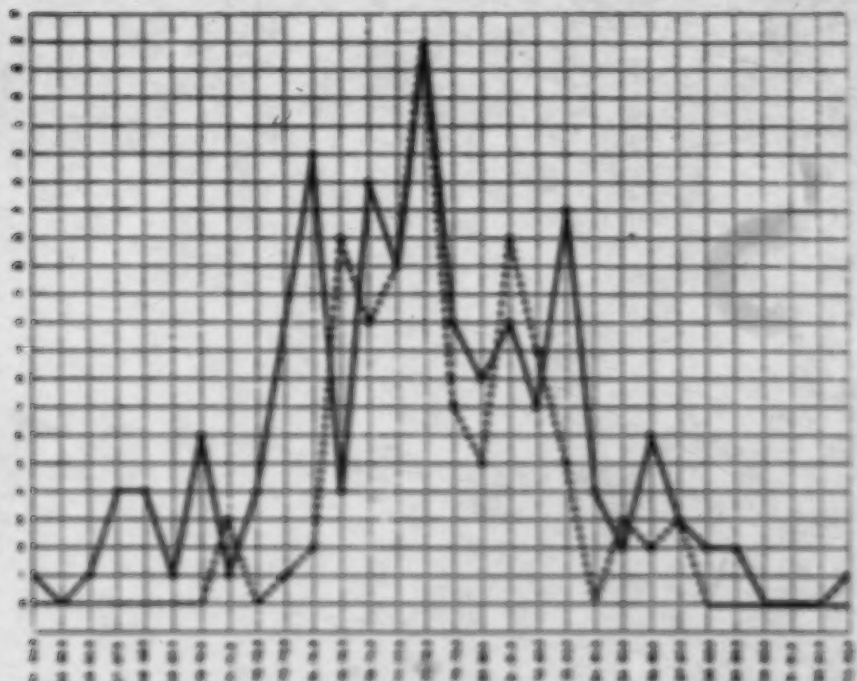


Fig. 45. Continuous curve: cephalic indices of 165 Persians from N. Persia chiefly. Dotted curve: cephalic indices of 126 Kurds, measured by the author.

Of the 165 Persians culled in my dossier, 9 males and 41 females

Kurd MMH
Baluchi 972

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 This division¹ probably will not last long. The great famine and drought of 1916-1917 have greatly reduced the numbers of Socks, and the typhus and other epidemics have rendered many powerful tribes insignificant.

It is noticeable that a Khurasani Kurd differs in his physical structure from his kinsmen in the West, i.e. in the real Kurdistan, exactly as the Persian peasant of Khurasan differs from a western. The Khurasani Kurds are much taller and stronger, but their features are not so finely cut, and the facial angle is not as high as the one seen in the west. The Khurasani Kurds resemble Lurs more than the western Kurds in their physical type, although fair-haired individuals are much rarer amongst them.* They are a comparatively healthy race except in the vicinity of cities, where disease and opium smoking are frequent.

There is a great deal of unity between all these different tribes, and the feuds which are so common in Kurdistan proper apparently do not exist. Like all nomads, Kurds possess a greater national feeling than the settled Persians. There are apparently no great differences between the local idioms, and intercourse between tribes is very common; even intermarriage is very frequent.

The language of the Khurasani Kurds belongs to the so-called Northern or the real Kurdish family, and is connected with the dialect of the Mukris more than with any other known idiom. It has, however, several discrepancies from that original tongue. The Khurasani Kurdish is greatly influenced by the laws of the Khurasani Persian phonology. The vocabulary varies very much in different localities, and is either replete with Persian terms in the south, or with Turkish in the north. Many Kurdish families are bilingual, especially in the north, where they often speak better Turkish than Kurdish.

Baluchis.—This is another important tribe of Iranian origin living in Khurasan. They are nomads. Very rarely isolated families become settled, but in one or two generations they lose all connection with the Baluchis and become assimilated with the Persians. The Baluchis who extend their wanderings far to the north, live in the districts of Jowain, Nishapur, Turkhiz, etc., and have already lost their original language. Further south their idiom resembles the original tongue, i.e. the Makrani dialect of Baluchi. Very little exact information about their language and folk-law is available at present.

Physically Baluchis differ considerably from Persians and Kurds. They are usually much smaller, their features are not so regular, and their facial angle is often very sharp. They are an unattractive, lazy, apathetic people, although they possess much predatory spirit. Their assumed

* The impression concerning this may not be correct, because the white eye that hair with horses and always keep the head covered. But it seems that in Kurdistan proper one sees more numerous fair-haired children than in Khurasan; in the West they may be mistaken for Europeans.